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Peace Society, Dr. Trueblood addressed a circular letter to the superintendents of public instruction in all the States and Territories, asking their co-operation in the movement begun by the superintendents of Massachusetts and Ohio.

All of the replies were very cordial and sympathetic. One or two of the superintendents felt that the plan was somewhat impracticable, and feared that the regular school work would be too much interfered with by adding another day to those already set apart for special observances. Some wrote that they would make arrangements for the following year. In the Southern States many of the superintendents said that the matter would have to be referred to the local school boards. Others were ready to take it up at once, and addressed circular letters to their local school superintendents recommending the observance. Among these were the superintendents of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio, and Kansas. The responses evinced the feeling of the educators of the country for the need of inculcating in the minds of the pupils truer ideas of patriotism, a better conception of the meaning of history, and an understanding of the essential oneness of humanity and of the community of interests of the nations.

In this year the American Peace Society first published suggestive programs, and at the same time there was issued by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead a little book, entitled "Patriotism and the New Internationalism," which contained programs and material for the use of teachers.

Commissioner of Education Recommends Observance.

In December, 1906, Dr. Elmer Ellsworth Brown, Commissioner of Education of the United States, recommended the observance of the 18th of May as Peace Day in the schools. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior, dated December 5, he speaks of the International stage into which our public education has passed and the approach of the Second International Peace Conference at The Hague, and continues:

"Already a considerable movement is under way looking to the annual commemoration in the schools of the United States of the opening of the First Hague Conference, which occurred on the 18th day of May, 1899. Such a celebration seems eminently desirable, by way of laying due emphasis in the schools upon the vital relations of modern peoples one to another. I would accordingly recommend that so far as consistent with State and local conditions, the 18th day of May in each year be designated as a day of special observance in the schools. It is particularly desirable that in the celebration of this anniversary day, and in the instruction of the schools throughout the year, the effort be made to promote an insight into the true aims and aspirations of our own nation and of the other nations with whom we are to work together in the making of a higher world civilization. . . ."

Following this recommendation, there was passed a resolution at the meeting of the department of superintendence of the National Education Association, held in Chicago, February 26-28, 1907, which completes the history of the steps leading up to the general recognition of the day by the schools of this country. It reads thus:

"Resolved, That we recognize the great significance of the movement to substitute arbitration for war in the settlement of international disputes, and recommend the ob-

peated wars, until the present war in Europe completes servance of the 18th day of May of each year by the schools of the United States in commemoration of the conference which led to the establishment of the Peace Tribunal at The Hague."

Work of the American School Peace League.

The American School Peace League, which was an outcome of the First National Peace Conference at New York City in 1907, was organized in 1908, and from the beginning took up the promotion of the celebration. One of its first publications was an exercise for use in the schools. In 1912, at the request of Hon. P. P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education of the United States, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, secretary of the league, prepared a Bulletin, containing suggestive programs and material for the use of teachers and pupils. This was widely used, the edition reaching about fifty thousand. The next year, 1913, a second Bulletin was compiled by Mrs. Andrews, entitled "The Promotion of Peace." In 1914 the same Bulletin was again used.

During the last few years there have been many programs and peace exercises issued by the various peace societies in the country, and there is a demand continually for fresh material and new suggestions.

An International Holiday.

The idea has several times been broached of trying to secure the recognition of the 18th of May as an international holiday, but the time has not seemed ripe for such action. It was first presented to the International Peace Congress at Glasgow in 1901, by Mr. Gaston Moch, and was referred to the International Peace Bureau for consideration. Proposals were made from several sources that the Second Hague Conference be petitioned to set aside the day as an international holiday, but the plan was not carried out. In our own country the attempt has been made to have the day set apart as a national holiday like the 4th of July, but so far it has seemed best to confine the celebration to its present form.

Such a Peace Day gives a splendid opportunity to present to the minds of the children of our nation correct ideas regarding the interdependence and essential unity of interest of the countries of the world, and to give them some knowledge of the movements at work which will one day make impossible such a catastrophe as the great European war.

Towards the Peace That Shall Last.*

At every stage of warfare in the past men and women in all nations have endeavored to abate and lessen it. Their repeated endeavors have been answered by repeated wars, until the present war in Europe completes the works of death, desolation, and tyranny.

* Soon after the outbreak of the war a number of persons met at the Henry Street Settlement in New York, at the call of Jane Addams, Lillian D. Wald, and Paul U. Kellogg, leaders among "those who deal with the social fabric." The object of the gathering was to prepare for concerted action on the part of the neutral nations, and at a second meeting in the winter the individuals thus brought together in harmony of purpose and conviction decided to issue a statement of principles, which is here reproduced, with permission, from *The Survey* of March 6, 1915.

In spite of this, these protests against war are destined to succeed; as once before in the history of the race, the sentiment of pity, of respect for human life, called a halt to senseless slaughter. There came a time in the history of the Greek and Jewish people when a few set their faces against *human sacrifice as a religious rite* of their highest faith—bound up, like our wars, with old fealties and solemn customs and with their most desperate fears. Humble men and women, out of sheer affection for their kind, revolted. In face of persecution and ridicule, they warned their countrymen that in pouring human blood upon altars to the gods they wrought upon their kind more irreparable wrong than any evil against which they sought to forefend. Finally there came to be enough people with courage and pity sufficient to carry a generation with them, and human sacrifice became a thing of the past.

It took the human race many centuries to rid itself of human sacrifice; during many centuries more it relapsed again and again in periods of national despair. So have we fallen back into warfare, and perhaps will fall back again and again, until in self-pity, in self-defense, in self-assertion of the right of life, not as hitherto, a few, but the *whole people of the world*, will brook this thing no longer.

OUR RIGHT TO PROTEST.

By that opportunity, now ours as never before, to weigh the case against war and to draw the counts from burning words spoken by those who protest and who are of all peoples—we make *single judgment and complete indictment*.

By that good fortune which has placed us outside the conflict; by that ill fortune by which the belligerent and his rights have heretofore bestrode the world; by mine-strewn channels, and by international codes which offer scant redress—we speak as *people of a neutral nation*.

By the unemployed of our water-fronts and the augmented misery of our cities; by the financial depression which has curtailed our school building and crippled our works of good-will; by the sluicing of human impulse among us from channels of social development to the back-eddies of salvage and relief—we have a right to speak.

By the hot anger and civil strife that we have known; by our pride, vainglory, and covetousness; by the struggles we have made for national integrity and defense of our hearthstones; by our consciousness that every instinct and motive and ideal at work in this war, however lofty or however base, has had some counterpart in our national history and our current life—we can speak a *common language*.

By that comradeship among nations which has made for mutual understanding; by those inventions which have bound us in communication and put the horrors of war at our doors; by the mechanical contrivances which multiply and intensify those horrors; by the quickening human sympathies which have made us sensitive to the hurts of others—we can speak as *fellow victims of this great oppression*.

By our heritage from each embattled nation; by our debt to them for languages and faiths and social institutions; for science, scholarship, and invention; by the broken and desolated hearts that will come to us when the war ends; by our kinships and our unfeigned friendships—we can speak as *brothers*.

By all these things we hold the present opportunity for conscience searching and constructive action to be an especial charge upon us, upon the newcomers among us from the fatherlands, and upon the joint youth of all the peoples of the two Americas.

WHAT WAR HAS DONE AND IS DOING.

Its Blights.

War has brought low our conception of the *preciousness of human life* as slavery brought low our conception of human liberty.

It has benumbed our growing sense of the *nurture of life*; and at a time when we were challenging Reichstag, Parliament, and Congress with the needlessness of infant mortality and child labor, it entrenches a million youths with cold and fever and impending death.

It has thwarted the chance of our times toward the *fulfilment of life*, and scattered like burst shrapnel the hands of the sculptors and the violinists, the limbs of the hurdlers and the swimmers, the sensitive muscles of the mechanics and the weavers, the throats of the singers and the interpreters, the eyes of the astronomers and the melters—every skilled and prescient part of the human body, every type of craft and competence of the human mind.

It has set back our promptings toward the *conservation of life*; and in a decade, when England and France and Russia, Germany and Austria and Belgium have been working out social insurance against the hazards of peace, it throws back upon the world an unnumbered company of the widowed and the fatherless and of aged parents left bereft and destitute.

It has blocked our way toward the *ascent of life*, and in a century which has seen the beginnings of effort to upbuild the common stock, has cut off from parenthood the strong, the courageous, and the high-spirited.

Its Injuries.

It has in its development of armaments pitted human flesh against machinery. It has wrested the power of self-defense from the hands of freemen who wielded lance and sword and scythe, and has set them as machine tenders to do the bidding of their masters. It has brought strange men to the door sills of peaceful people; men like their own men, bearing no grudges one against another; men snatched away from their fields and villages where their fathers lie buried, to kill and burn and destroy till this other people are driven from their homes of a thousand years or sit abject and broken. It has stripped farms and ruined self-sustaining communities, and poured into a bewildered march for succor the crippled and aged and bedridden, the little children and the women great with child unborn. It has set vast areas at the task of rehabilitating economic gains won through centuries of struggle and sacrifice, and not until then will they be free to think not merely of living, but of better life.

It has razed the flowing lines in which the art and aspiration of earlier generations expressed themselves, and has thus waged war upon the dead. It has tortured and twisted the whole social fabric of the living. It has burdened our children and our children's children with a staggering load of debt.

It has inundated the lowlands of the world's economy with penury and suffering unreckonable, hopelessly depressing standards of living already much too low. It

has rent and trampled upon the network of world co-operation in trade and craftsmanship which had made all men fellow-workers. It has whetted a lust among neutral nations to profit by furnishing the means to prolong its struggles. It has blasted our new internationalism in the protection of working women and children.

It has distracted our minds with the business of destruction and stayed the forward reach of the builders among men. It has conscripted physician and surgeon, summoning them from research and the prolongation of life to the patchwork of its wreckage. It has sucked into its blood and mire our most recent conquests over the elements—over electricity and air and the depths of ocean, and has prostituted our prowess in engineering, chemistry, and technology to the service of terror and injury. It has bent our achievements in transportation into runways, so that neither volcanoes nor earthquakes, nor the rat-holes of famine, but only the plagues, can match war in unbounded disaster.

Its Wrongs.

It has in its compulsory service made patriotism a shell, empty of liberty. It has set up the military independent of and superior to the civil power. It has substituted arbitrary authority and the morals of foot-loose men who escape identity in the common uniform for the play of individual conscience, and that social pressure which in household and village, in neighborhood and State, makes for individual responsibility, for decency, and fair play. It has battered on apathy, unintelligence, and helplessness such as surrender the judgment and volition of nations into a few hands, and has nullified rights and securities such as are of inestimable value to the people and formidable to tyrants only. It has threatened the results of a hundred martyrdoms and revolutions, and put in jeopardy those free governments which make possible still newer social conquests. It has crushed under iron heels the uprisings of civilization itself.

Its Evils.

It has turned the towers of art and science into new Babels, so that our philosophers and men of letters, our physicists and geographers, our economists and biologists and dramatists speak in strange tongues, and to hate each other has become a holy thing among them. It has made were-wolves of neighboring peoples in the imaginations of each other. It has set faithful against faithful, priest against priest, prayers against prayers for that success of one army which means slaughter of both. It has put its stamp upon growing boys and girls, and taught them to hate other children who have chanced to be born on the other side of some man-made boundary. It has massed and exploded the causes of strife, fostering religious antagonisms and racial hates, inbreeding with the ugliest strains of commercialism, perverting to its purposes the increase of over-dense populations and their natural yearning for new opportunities for enterprise and livelihood. It has not only shattered men's breasts, but loosened the black fury of their hearts, so that in rape, and cruelty, and rage we have ancient brutishness trailing at the heels of all armies. It has found a world of friends and neighbors, and substituted a world of outlanders and aliens and enemies.

It has burned itself into men's souls as an evil fact of life, to be accepted along with every other good and evil, instead of what it is—a survival of barbarism which can and should be ended. It has violated the finer sensibilities of the race, and weakened our claim upon them for the betterment of the conditions under which people live. It has given the lie to the teachings of missionaries and educators, and will stay civilization in the uttermost parts of the earth. It has lessened the number of those who feel the joys and sorrows of all peoples as of their own. It has strangled truth and paralyzed the power and wish to face it, and has set up monstrous and irreconcilable myths of self-justification. It has mutilated the human spirit. It has become a thing which passeth all understanding.

STRIKING HANDS.

We have heard the call from overseas of those who have appealed to men and women of good will in all nations to join with them in throwing off this tyranny upon life.

We must go further: we must throw open a peace which shall be other than a shadow of old wars and a prelude to new. We do more than plead with men to stay their hands from killing. We hail living men. As peace lovers, we are charged with the sanctity of human life; as democrats and freemen, we are charged with its sovereignty.

By the eight million natives of the warring states living among us without malice or assault one upon another, let us leave the occasions of fighting no longer for idle war boards to decide.

By the blow our forebears struck at barbarism when they took vengeance out of private hands, let us wrest the manufacture of armaments and deadly weapons from the gun-mongers and powder-makers who gain by it.

By those electric currents that have cut the ground from under the old service of diplomacy, and spread the new intelligence, let us put the ban upon intrigue and secret treaties.

For we hold that not soldiers, nor profit-takers, nor diplomats, but the people who suffer and bear the brunt of war, should determine whether war must be; that with ample time for investigation and publicity of its every cause and meaning, with recourse to every avenue for mediation and settlement abroad, war should come only by the slow process of self-willing among men and women who solemnly publish and declare it to be a last and sole resort.

With our treated borderland, 3,000 miles in length, without fort or trench from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which has helped weld us for a century of unbroken peace with our neighbors to the north, we would spread faith not in entrenched camps, but in open boundaries.

With the pacts of our written constitutions before us which bind our own sovereign States in amity, we are convinced that treaty-making may be lifted to a new and inviolable estate, and lay the foundations for that world organization which for all time shall make for peace upon earth and good will among men.

With our experience in lesser conflicts in industrial life, which have none the less embraced groups as large as armies, have torn passions, and rasped endurance to the uttermost, we can bear testimony that at the end of such strife as cleaves to the heart of things, men are

disposed to lay the framework of their relations in larger molds than those which broke beneath them.

With our ninety million people drawn from Alpine and Mediterranean, Danubian, Baltic, and Slavic stocks; with a culture blended from these different affluents, we hold that progress lies in the predominance of none, and that the civilization of each nation needs to be refreshed by that cross-breeding with the genius and the type of other human groups, that blending which began on the coast lands and islands of the Aegean Sea, where European civilization first drew its sources from the Euphrates and the Nile.

With memories of the tyranny which provoked our Revolution, with the travail still upon us by which we in our turn have paid for the enslavement of a people, with the bitterness only now assuaged which marked our period of mistrust and reconstruction, we bear witness that boundaries should be set where not force, but justice and consanguinity direct, and that, however boundaries fall, liberty and the flowering-out of native cultures should be secure.

With our fair challenge to the spirit of the east and to the chivalry of the west in standing for the open door in China when that Empire, now turned Republic, was threatened by dismemberment, we call for the freeing of the ports of every ocean from special privilege based on territorial claims, throwing them open with equal chance to all who by their ability and energy can serve new regions to their mutual benefit.

With the faith we have kept with Cuba, the regard we have shown for the integrity of Mexico, and our preparations for the independence of the Philippine Islands, we urge the framing of a common colonial policy which shall put down the predatory exploitation that has embroiled the west and oppressed the east, and shall stand for an opportunity for each latent and backward race to build up according to its own genius.

By our full century of ruthless waste of forest, ore, and fuel; by the vision which has come to us in these later days of conserving to the permanent uses of the people the water power and natural wealth of our public domain, we propose the laying down of a planetary policy of conservation.

By that tedium and monotony of life and labor for vast companies of people which, when war drums sound, goads the field worker to forsake his harvest and the wage-earner to leap from his bench, we hold that the ways of peace should be so cast as to make stirring appeal to the heroic qualities in men, and give common utterance to the rhythm and beauty of national feeling.

By the joy of our people in the conquest of a continent; by the rousing of all Europe when the great navigators threw open the new Indies and the New World, we stand for such a scheming-out of our joint existence that the achieving instincts among men, not as one nation against another, nor as one class against another, but as one generation after another shall have freedom to come into their own.

JANE ADDAMS, Prof. EMILY G. BALCH, EDWARD T. DEVINE, JOHN PALMER GAVIT, Rev. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, HAMILTON HOLT, FREDERIC C. HOWE, Prof. WILLIAM I. HULL, FLORENCE KELLEY, PAUL U. KELLOGG, Hon. WILLIAM KENT, Prof. SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY, Judge JULIAN W. MACK, GEORGE W. NASMYTH, GRAHAM TAYLOR, LILLIAN D. WALD, MORNAY WILLIAMS, Rabbi STEPHEN S. WISE.

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Our Duty to Europe and to Ourselves.*

By Morris Hillquit.

When mankind will become truly humanized it will look back upon the history of the past seven months as on an incredible and hideous cosmic nightmare.

Until the beginning of August of last year Europe was peopled by normal and civilized human beings. They seemed rational and peaceful. They tilled the soil and operated their industries. They promoted science and cultivated the arts. They had human interests, pleasures and joys, sorrows and struggles. They were organized for the maintenance of life. Human life was sacred to them.

Then one day the millions of men of Europe suddenly threw away their ploughs and their tools, forsook their homes and firesides, and went forth to murder each other. It is as if a destructive and malicious spirit had suddenly taken possession of their bodies, minds, and souls and rendered them mad.

All Europe is afflicted with homicidal mania, and this mania grows more acute and deadly every day. Every morning tens of millions of human beings awake with a determination to destroy the lives of their fellow-men, and every day they slaughter each other in the regular routine of their work. Murder has become the main aim and pursuit and the sole regular industry of Europe.

Can America remain indifferent to this appalling situation?

Every day that this war continues human dignity and human worth are debased. Can this nation escape the demoralizing effects of the universal debasement?

I hold that the United States has vital interests and imperative duties in this war, interests and duties vastly greater than those of any other neutral nation. The neutral countries of Europe are few and small and their neutrality hangs by a slim thread. The United States is larger, stronger, and more important than all neutral countries of Europe combined. We are removed from the actual seat of the conflict by three thousand miles of ocean. We have no material interest in the sanguinary contest. We have been placed in the position of the main, if not the sole, guardian of human civilization, a position we have never held before, and perhaps never will hold again. We must prove true to the trust which history has imposed on us. We must exert every atom of power that is within us to bring about a speedy and lasting peace between the nations, and we must devote the better part of our thoughts and efforts to the task of banishing the unspeakable disgrace of war forever.

And we can largely contribute to the accomplishment of both tasks.

If the people of this country will be loud, consistent, and persistent in the expression of their horror at the criminal insanity of the war, day after day in the pulpit, platform, and press, their constant exhortations may ultimately have a sobering effect on the blood-intoxicated European combatants. If our people, through their government, will urge peace upon the belligerent nations, emphatically and repeatedly without regard to diplomatic conventions, they will perhaps find willing ears at some psychological turn of events.

But, above all, we can set to the rest of the world an

* Address before Emergency Conference of Peace Forces, at Sinai Temple, Chicago, February 28.